1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1



F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [487] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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243 461 [177] [407] [426] [427] A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

[824]

243 433 [262] [231] [442] [256] The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chia* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

434 243 [423] However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

243 If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, *anytime from late October to early or even mid-December.* Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

[407] [442] [435] [433]

244 In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

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## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

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Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

| Livestock | Number |
|---|---|
| Water buffalo | 17 |
| Pigs | 241 |
| Chickens | 361 |
| Ducks | 372 |
| Geese | 131 |
| Rabbits | 52 |
| Goats | 11 |

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the *villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like* putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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she answered, "when the pigs are big enough." In explanation she continued, "Do you think that a poor family like ours could afford to *buy* two pigs in order to give our son a proper wedding?"

Almost every family in the village raises at least a few pigs. They are of three types: the native Taiwanese, the Berkshire, or a crossbreed of the two. These pigs are kept in sties which are typically constructed with mud floors, bamboo sidewalls and straw roofs; they are either attached directly to the side of the house or situated several yards away. Some rather recently constructed sties in the village, however, are more modern; they are specially designed with cement or brick floors and walls and cement tile roofs. The local Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association usually subsidizes the construction of a few such sties in each village every year, paying about one-quarter of the total cost of construction.

For the most part, the care and feeding of pigs is the responsibility of the village women and older children. Much time is spent preparing pig food. This consists of sweet potatoes and certain green vegetables grown especially by the farmer for his pigs and other livestock. This is all cooked in a starchy water called "rice soup," which is the water in which the family's rice is washed before it is cooked. According to the Farmers' Association and government agricultural agencies, it is not necessary to cook pig food, but their word has not been very effective in the village. Most villagers, despite the great amount of time it takes, still continue to follow the traditional way of preparation in the belief that pigs will not grow fat on raw sweet potatoes.

Every few days the pig sty is cleaned out. This is usually done for the important purpose of collecting the excrement and the rice straw, which partially covers the floor, for use as fertilizer. Compost is made from the dung and used for various crops. Uncovered compost heaps are usually found alongside the pig houses, and it is not unusual for some garbage to be added to the heap. Children as well as fowl can often be seen climbing on the open compost heap.

When a pig becomes ill it is common to call a local veterinarian. Sometimes the farmer himself will give the sick pig a shot of the penicillin which can now be readily purchased in Lukang.

Possibly as a result of a lack of selective breeding, a somewhat inadequate diet and inadequate use of antibiotics, unsanitary living conditions and the climate, pigs in Hsin Hsing usually take from nine to fifteen months to reach full size, a good deal longer than similar breeds take in America. When a pig does reach full growth, a tax must be paid by the farmer to the government at the Public Office before it is slaughtered. The tax must be paid whether the farmer is selling the pig or using it for his own purposes. Pigs are usually sold to a butcher from a village in the area or from Lukang.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

## AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in three market towns or cities: Yuan Lin, almost fifteen miles from the village; Chang-hua, about ten miles; and Taichung, about twenty-five miles. Often some of the men in Hsin Hsing who grow the same vegetables cooperate in the marketing operation. Since the market price is usually about the same in each one of the three markets, the men agree in advance where each will go to sell his vegetables. This prevents any one market from being flooded with a vegetable and thus lowering the price. The choice of market is arbitrary, and if one man happens to get a better price for his vegetables, he is considered lucky, and no more is thought about it. Perhaps the next time the men will change markets.

If the villager has a large enough load to take to the wholesale market, it may take him several days to sell his vegetables. In that event he usually sleeps in the market unless he happens to have some relative such as a *ch'in ch'i* in the town with whom he can stay; a hotel is considered too expensive. A few villagers ship vegetables like peppers or cabbages by truck freight to more distant markets in the cities of Kaohsiung or Taipei. This is done with the aid of a vegetable broker with whom they have made contact; he also takes care of the sale of the vegetables in the market for a percentage of the profit. The villager and the broker use the mails to maintain contact about prices and shipping arrangements. Although only a few villagers now work with a broker, it seems likely that more will adopt the method, for it permits the farmer to sell to the best advantage in different parts of the island.

After a farmer harvests his rice crop he dries it in the sun and stores it either in bamboo-and-mud bins in the house or else in very large, round, white-plastered bamboo or wooden storage bins in front of the house. This latter method is mostly used by those farmers who produce a large amount of rice. The rice is held in these storage places until it is time to make payment in kind for land rent, land taxes, or for fertilizer. The number of these large rice bins that now go unused and unrepaired is evidence that the villagers are right when they say they were able to keep and store much more rice for later sale on the market under the Japanese.

After the operating expenses are paid and any surplus is sold, the remaining rice is stored unmilled for the family's use. As it is needed, the villagers have their rice milled, usually in the next village, at a cost of about NT $2 for every one hundred *chin* of rice. Of one hundred *chin* of unmilled rice, approximately twenty *chin* is lost when the rice is husked and polished. The husks then belong to the mill, but the farmer can take home the product of the polishing, the ground rice powder, to feed to pigs and other livestock. The farmers usually purchase the husks from the mills to use as fuel for cooking stoves.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[P. 148-F]

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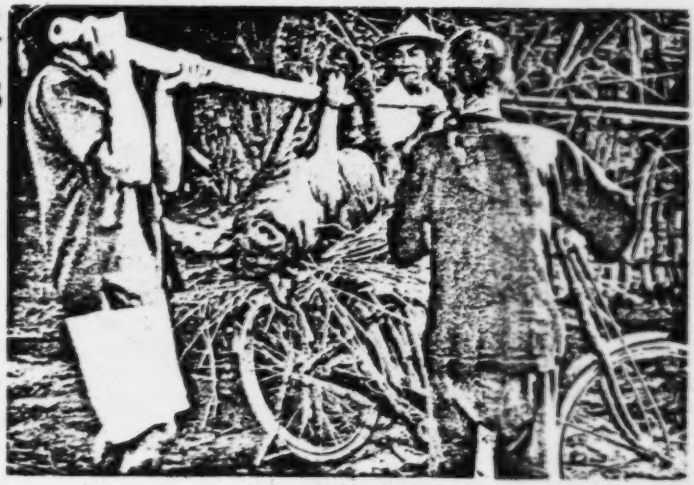

ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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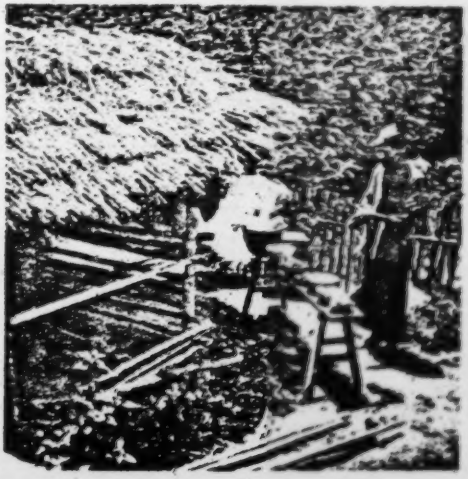

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



*159 *596 husband's family has no standards for comparison. She accepts her life because she knows no other.

*593 584 597 As a girl and as a young woman, Lim A-pou evinced all the behavior hoped for by families who adopt daughters. She accepted reprimands and punishments without becoming sullen, she did not complain, and she worked at whatever job was at hand with a diligence that must have been impressive to satisfy such a hard taskmaster as Lim Han-ci. Several people told me that the old man was particularly fond of his adopted daughter and often said of her, "Where can you find another person who works as hard as A-pou?" [461] His words are as apt today as they were then. She is always busy, and her activities are always productive. Whether in the fields or in the kitchen, her movements are efficient and purposeful. She can easily manage to cook for their family of fourteen, help her bewildered daughter-in-law care for a sick baby, and still have time to rake over a yard of drying rice every hour. The extent to which the family depends upon her was amusingly, if frustratingly, illustrated on one of the rare days she was away. Lim A-ki, her daughter-in-law, proved incapable of both cooking and attending to the needs of her two small children, and the smell of scorching food brought laughing neighbors in to help and to further the confusion. It was truly a memorable occasion in that Lim Chui-ieng was ordered by her husband to assist by washing down the pig pens, a daily task that takes A-pou a half hour and took the appalled Chui-ieng the better part of an afternoon. [231]

I tried many times, without success, to get A-pou to reminisce about her childhood. She was very helpful in providing me with general information about the customs of adoption and the treatment of adopted daughters, but when I attempted to turn the conversation to her own experiences, I never got beyond a proverb. Once I twisted one of her proverbs into a question and asked, "Is it better to be a daughter or an adopted daughter?" It was a foolish question, but she didn't laugh. She just looked away and answered quietly, "I don't know. I have never been a daughter." [115]

A-pou's fate as an adult was to marry her foster brother, Lim Hue-lieng. If she objected, and it must have been obvious that Lim Hue-lieng would be something less than a husband to her, she kept her objections to herself. There was little to be gained by a protest and much to be lost. Her foster father looked upon the marriage as a

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

"When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

"When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



spending money. Where does this money come from? Does it fall out of the sky?

"When it is my aunt's turn to cook, my mother is always around and she helps her with this and that. When it is my wife's turn to cook, my aunt runs far away and she never helps. She lets her children sit and cry rather than get caught near the work. My wife is slower than the others. Shouldn't Lim Chui-ieng be there to help her a little? Feeding the pigs is a good example. My aunt has never once chopped up the sweet potato leaves for pig food. We don't have many pigs to feed now, but we used to have over thirty. They ate a cartload of sweet potato leaves every day. My mother was so busy chopping that food up and cooking it that she didn't have time to turn around. My aunt never once helped her. Mother isn't as healthy as she used to be. How can she stand to go on working so hard all day long. Yet my uncle says the reason she won't raise pigs anymore is because she doesn't want to bother feeding them. The real reason she wants to quit is this. The last time we sold pigs they should have brought in about NT$8,000, but instead we got only NT$5,000 because we owed the butcher NT$3,000. My uncle was buying pork from him every day. If he bought it for everyone, we wouldn't have anything to say about it, but he doesn't. He buys only the leanest pieces and then they cook it with medicine and he and his family eat the whole lot of it. When he comes back from market, his wife takes the meat and hides it under that new bucket in the washroom. My younger brother has seen them do this too. One day just for fun I yelled to Masa, 'Hurry up and get the new bucket and wash it so we can mix insecticide in it.' My aunt took off at a run to get that meat moved. I didn't really want the bucket, I just wanted to see what she'd do. Masa laughed so hard he had to lie down on the ground."

I asked him if it weren't true that Lim Chui-ieng was not very healthy. She often takes medicines of various kinds. He didn't think so. "Huh! She is just pretending to be sick. Who doesn't know how to do that. If she is not healthy, then no one is healthy. If you have the money, who wouldn't eat tonic [a term for describing meat cooked in wine and rich herbs believed to generally strengthen the body]."

Growing somewhat bolder, I asked A-bok if he found it difficult to get money from his uncle for his personal needs. He answered bluntly, "We don't need to discuss that." After a few minutes, however, he did. "It is this way. When you give him money he is all

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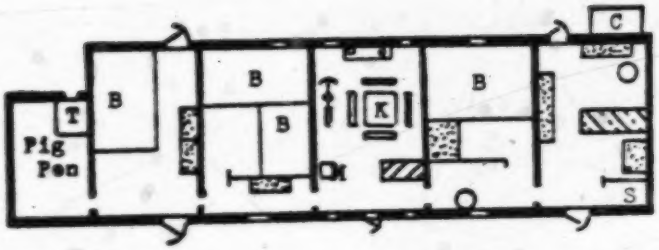


S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

**Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings**

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[77] A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[234] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied by small pigs.

262 there was an emphasis on seasonal foods to the point of monotony. For example, during the six-week period when cauliflower was lowest in price, it seemed to be part of two meals each day in almost every household in Talei Li.

443 262 264 A young man on his bicycle cart came through each evening selling a great variety of pickled and spicy vegetables which were usually served on cold rice for breakfast. On a typical evening, about half of the households in Sanlei made purchases from this traveling delicatessen. The boy said his business had more than tripled in the past six or seven years over the same territory which extended from Hsin Tien to Wulei.

443 262 231 The chu jen (pig man) as he was nicknamed, came through on a motorized cart three times each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. He sold to fu (soy bean curd) for human consumption and soy bean cakes for pigs. He was a commercial pig farmer with a herd of over fifty pigs near Hsin Tien. He had another route out a different road from Hsin Tien on the other three days each week. With his large orders for soy bean, he could get a large discount, reducing his own farming expenses. It was also possible to order a piglet from him at a price lower than the Hsin Tien market. He sold about 2 pig cakes and 10 pounds of to fu each trip into Sanlei. The prices of both were a little higher than the market but he offered convenience. To fu is rich in protein and a reasonable substitute for

443 meat but the quantity eaten was not sufficient to meet the
262 protein shortages previously described. However, consump-
231 tion of to fu was higher than it would have been without
his route because many purchases were made on impulse.
Further, he often advised farmers with regard to the tech-
niques of raising pigs as he was an acknowledged expert.

441 The many other different kinds of salesmen that
[203] came through the village were all tapped for gossip and
information and they played an important part in the com-
munication network. The salesmen who included Sanlei on
a regular route usually lived in Hsin Tien or Taipei. Some
called on the two village stores and others on villagers.
[438] They sold groceries, medicine bags, agricultural imple-
ments, cloth, etc. A more marginal group came through on
a one-time basis. The latter were high-pressure types and
villagers seldom had any further contact with them. Many
of the salesmen were retired Mainland soldiers.

262 As an island, seafood is an important dietary item
in Taiwan. Various kinds of seafood and fish soups are
common items in Fukienese culinary arts. Fish, shrimp,
sea slugs, octopus, and squid are all used, both fresh and
dried. Yet, these items are not a daily part of any
household's diet, appearing on the table about five or
six times each month on the average.

Pork is the typical meat. However, even counting
banquet meals, the average consumption of meat was less

262 than one-quarter of a pound per man per day. It is a rare village household that would have two meatless days in a
178 row. Some older villagers claimed that in their youth,
262 meat appeared on the table only once each week but others claimed it was more often. Any question about economic conditions in the past almost always produced mild argu-
252 ments and disagreements. Pork is cut in very small pieces and mixed with vegetables in cooking and most often, seems
262 to be used primarily for flavoring and for the fat. Vil-
826 lagers agreed that a person needed meat regularly in order to provide grease for the joints in order to prevent sore
262 muscles. It was said that beef (water buffalo or yellow
[231] oxen) was eaten in the city. However, the water buffalo was so important to the villagers that no village man could bring himself to eat it. However, when one was killed in an accident, it would be sold to a meat store. Small boys occasionally snared mountain rats which were eaten but the house rat was considered too dirty to eat.
[751] Dog meat was quite expensive and rarely eaten although everyone said that a bit of dog meat in the fall would help prevent colds all winter. No village dog could be eaten however. Fowl were also significant but only on the special occasions averaging about three to five times per month.

261 According to most Chinese, eating is one of the
252 joys of life and cooking is a well-developed art form.

243 In the middle of December (Solar Calendar),[2] after three days soaking, rice seeds for the first crop are scattered thickly on a well-prepared fertilised field. They take forty to fifty days to grow to a sufficient size for transplanting. In the latter part of January, the [231] field is prepared. It takes one man with a water buffalo about six or seven days to prepare a one chia field. While there are only two water buffalo in Sanlei village, a [435] nearby village specializes in water buffalo. A man with equipment and buffalo can be hired for $120.00 per day or the buffalo alone may be rented for $60.00 to $70.00 per day. If human fertilizer (night soil) is used, a liberal quantity should now be applied.

243 462 Transplanting is a hard job, rated as work primarily but not exclusively for men as is the other most difficult job of harvesting. All extremely hard work is considered proper for men only but there is no corresponding notion that light work should be reserved for females. At times, men are doing light work while females are doing medium heavy work. There is a bonus of five meals per day for male or female workers alike when engaged in transplanting or harvesting rice, the two jobs rated as the hardest in the community. It would take a seven to eight man crew to transplant a single chia of paddy field. However, given the small size of the fields, most work groups rarely exceed three or four adult males. The planting by

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
24 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

443 local stores (20% discount) or to the nearby mine dormitories (10% less than town prices with free delivery).

Subsistence Crops

243 By this category, I refer to those items grown for
244 home consumption. A major item is sweet potatoes which can be grown on dry land in small scattered locations. Occasionally, they are planted at the end of the second crop in a paddy field but in this case, it is not possible to plant the first rice crop the following year. However, the yield is high and part of the field can be used for
262 the rice seedlings. Sweet potatoes are an important part
252 of the local diet, particularly in the form of a fried
231 sweet-potato pancake, steamed, or as a kind of mush. Also, both the leaves and potatoes are excellent for animal
251 fodder. Sliced in chips and dried in the sun, sweet potatoes can be readily preserved for future consumption.
244 When sweet potatoes, which take six months to mature, are planted after the second rice crop, raddish is inter-
[251] planted in a multiple cropping technique. Raddishes, which only take 60 days to mature, are dried and preserved with salt or pickled.

244 Almost every house, even those with no other agricultural activities, will have a small nearby vegetable garden. Several of the very small plots of land away from the households are also devoted to vegetables, but not any

244 great distance due to the necessity for liberal application of excrement, human and animal. Although night soil is rated higher than chemical fertilizers, farmers find [462] using it distasteful. Application of excrement is usually by men, although women do most of the tending of vegetable gardens including planting. With rare exceptions, only sweet potatoes and bamboo shoots are ever grown far from the household.

The kinds of vegetables vary with the season, i.e., [443] certain weather is best for certain items. Currently, most vegetables are available in the Hsin Tien market [262] year around. However, village menus stress the vegetables which are maturing in the village. Even if a household is out of a certain vegetable in its own plot, if it is now in season, it will still be purchased because the price in Hsin Tien is probably very low. Important vegetables include bamboo shoots, cucumbers, green pumpkin, squash, beans, ginger, leafy vegetables, onions, leeks, [263] and cauliflower. Soy beans are raised and many households prepare the soy sauce without which few meals are possible.

Animal Husbandry

• 231 Important animals for food in the village are pigs, [235] chickens, and ducks. As previously stated, there are only three water buffalo in the village. A count of animals made on November 4, 1966 is used as a basis for the discussion of animal husbandry but variance would not be great

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a
262 month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
594 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

231 The biggest investment is in pigs which are expensive animals. Forty-four households own 113 pigs, one household with fourteen, one six, one five, and the rest, three or less. Typically, a farm household raises one or two at a time in pens with a thatched roof attached to the house or in a nearby open building with a thatched [435] roof. Pigs are fed rice chaf, scraps, sweet potatoes including leaves, and compressed soy bean curd cakes ($195.00 each) which are purchased from the peddler who comes through the village three times a week.

There is a butchering place for pigs in Pouti, about half way down the road to Hsin Tien which serves an area including about 900 families, nearly all rural (see Figure 1). About eight or nine pigs are slaughtered daily. On the first and fifteenth of the month, twice as many are slaughtered (see Chapter IX) and on festival occasions, 231 there may be many more. Before a pig can be slaughtered, 651 it is necessary to purchase a permit the previous day from the township office in Hsin Tien at a cost of $340.00, reduced $5.00 if the pig is for home consumption rather than sale. For a very big festival, the township office will send a clerk to the village to collect the tax. The pig is taken on a hand-hauled cart to Pouti early in the morn- [625] ing for slaughtering. A policeman is available there to 231 take the permit and officially stamp the pig. The best weight for slaughtering is 180 chin although 200 chin is

231 considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that
[368] city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they
[261] prefer less fat.

231 Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only
[433] $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit
[651] was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of
[648] the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any
case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes
has created the belief that no one can make a profit rais-
ing pigs although the government, through the farmers'
231 association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The
433 village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the asso-
474 ciation have attended several meetings concerned with en-
couraging hog production. Although they have passed out
much literature, they have had little success in promoting
pig production. No small part of their failure is because
they too believe that there is little profit in pigs al-
though in order to set an example, both are raising more
231 pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable
241 for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only
farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for
231 fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a
[585] family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast.
Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out
a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at
the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently
is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[757] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
• [231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

512 usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet po-
264
[262] tatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar
512 to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the
[87] workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

[574] The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most
[476] women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such
[54] as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more
[91] often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are
[157] home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding
[23] the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the
[313] small children to the older students so they can go to the
[358] mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one
[313] task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The